<u>The South Carolina State Conference of the NAACP, et al v. Alexander, et al</u>

CA No.: 3:21-cv-03302-MGL-TJH-RMG

EXHIBIT A

Senate Defendants and House Defendants' Motion in Limine to Exclude Testimony of Plaintiffs' Putative Expert Jordan Ragusa

April 11, 2022 Expert Report

of Jordan Ragusa

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE DISTRICT OF SOUTH CAROLINA
COLUMBIA DIVISION

THE SOUTH CAROLINA STATE CONFERENCE OF THE NAACP, and
 	
TAIWAN SCOTT, on behalf of himself and all other similarly situated persons,
 	
    Plaintiffs,
 	
   v.
 	
THOMAS C. ALEXANDER, in his official capacity as President of the Senate; LUKE A. RANKIN, in his official capacity as Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee; JAMES H. LUCAS, in his official capacity as Speaker of the House of Representatives; CHRIS MURPHY, in his official capacity as Chairman of the House of Representatives Judiciary Committee; WALLACE H. JORDAN, in his official capacity as Chairman of the House of Representatives Elections Law Subcommittee; HOWARD KNAPP, in his official capacity as interim Executive Director of the South Carolina State Election Commission; JOHN WELLS, Chair, JOANNE DAY, CLIFFORD J. EDLER, LINDA MCCALL, and SCOTT MOSELEY, in their official capacities as members of the South Carolina Election Commission,
 	
    Defendants.
	Case No. 3-21-cv-03302-JMC-TJH-RMG
	
	Expert Report Evaluating South Carolina's Congressional Map of Dr. Jordan Ragusa
	
	April 11, 2022

Introduction

I am an Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science at the College of Charleston in Charleston, South Carolina. I began my career as an Assistant Professor in the fall of 2011 and was awarded tenure in 2017. I teach undergraduate classes on American politics, Congress, American political development, national elections, research methodology, and statistical computing. I also teach a graduate course on statistics in the Master of Public Administration program. At the College, I serve in two administrative roles: as the Associate Chair of my department and as the Research Director for a political economy and market process center in the School of Business.

I received my Ph.D. in political science from the University of Florida in 2011. Additionally, in 2006 and 2007 I took courses on statistical methods for social research at the University of Michigan. My graduate coursework spanned two fields: American politics and quantitative research methodology. I have published a dozen peer-reviewed articles on legislative politics, political parties, national elections, political economy, and South Carolina politics. I have also published two co-authored books: "First in the South: Why South Carolina's Presidential Primary Matters" (2020, *University of South Carolina Press*) and "Congress in Reverse: Repeals from Reconstruction to the Present" (2020, *University of Chicago Press*).

I am frequently asked to provide expert commentary on American politics. I have been quoted in *The New Yorker*, *USA Today*, *The Post & Courier*, and *The State* and have appeared on *South Carolina ETV*, *South Carolina Public Radio*, *National Public Radio, Bloomberg TV, Matter of Fact with Soledad O'Brien* and several local news channels. I have published roughly thirty op-eds/editorials in newspapers such as *The Washington Post*, *The Post & Courier*, and *The State*. My public scholarship also includes consulting work for several organizations including the City of Charleston Police Department, Charleston County Human Resources, Lowcountry Local First, and the Alliance for Full Acceptance.

A copy of my curriculum vitae is attached as Exhibit A. I have written a report and provided testimony by deposition on South Carolina's State House map in this case, South Carolina State Conference of the NAACP v. Alexander, No. 3:21-cv-03302 (D.S.C.).

I have been hired by the plaintiffs' counsel to examine whether race was a significant factor in the drafting of South Carolina's map for the U.S. House. I am retained at the rate of $250 per hour. My compensation does not depend in any way on the results of the case, or on the opinions and testimony I provide.

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District VTD Change

Methodology

In this report I examine whether race was a significant factor in the composition of the redrawn South Carolina Congressional map. I do so with data on the 2000+ voting tabulation districts (VTDs) in the state. Better known as "precincts," voting tabulation districts are administrative units where election results are reported. Further, VTDs are often receive special consideration from mapmakers during redistricting. For example, in its redistricting guidelines, the South Carolina House cites precinct lines as "evidence of communities of interest to be balanced" while the state Senate recommends "minimizing division of voting precinct boundaries."[1] For these reasons, VTDs are common units of analysis in redistricting research.[2]

In the analysis the three independent variables (factors that may explain how the lines were redrawn) are race, partisanship, and precinct size. I measure a precinct's racial composition using publicly available Census data from 2020. Specifically, I record the Black voting age population (BVAP) of each VTD in the state.[3] Because they vary in size, in my analysis I also include a variable that records each precinct's total voting age population. I obtained these data from the 2020 Census as well. Finally, I measure a VTD's partisanship using the number of votes for Joe Biden in the 2020 general election.[4] I obtained these data from SCVotes.gov, the official website of the South Carolina Election Commission.

In my analysis the key question is whether any of the above factors explain how lawmakers drew each district's boundaries. I answer this question with three statistical models. In each model, the dependent variable (the outcome being analyzed) is whether a VTD was included or excluded from the redrawn district.

Model #1 analyzes which VTDs surrounding the district were moved into the redrawn district.[5] In this analysis, the population is every VTD outside the old district but within the "county envelope." For example, under the old map CD #1 included portions of five counties: Beaufort, Berkeley, Charleston, Colleton, and Dorchester. In this example, the VTDs in these five counties, but outside the old district, represent the county envelope—precincts that could be added to the redrawn district without crossing county borders and/or significantly reconfiguring the district. At issue is whether the VTDs moved into the redrawn district differ in systematic ways from those kept out of the new district.

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[1] See Section VII in the South Carolina House of Representatives' "2021 Guidelines and Criteria for Congressional and Legislative Redistricting" and Section III in the South Carolina Senate's "2021 Redistricting Guidelines."
[2] For example, see "Expert Report of Stephen Ansolabehere" in *Cooper v. Harris* (2013) or "Do Redistricting Commissions Avoid Partisan Gerrymanders?" by Best, Lem, Magleby and McDonald in the journal *American Politics Research* (2021).
[3] Data are available at: http://data.census.gov/. See table "P3: Race for the Population 18 and Over." In the calculation I include any person who self-identified as Black, including Black in combination with any other category.
[4] Data are available at: https://www.scvotes.gov/election-results.
[5] If a district was drawn into a new county, those observations are included in the analysis among the positive outcomes as well as precincts added to the district from the county envelope. For example, in the redrawn map CD #1 was extended into a tiny portion of a sixth county: Jasper.

Model #2 analyzes the opposite outcome—the decision to remove a precinct from the district. In this analysis, the population consists of all VTDs within the old district's configuration. For example, in the prior map, CD #2 comprised roughly 300 precincts. In the redistricting process, these VTDs were either kept in the redrawn district or were moved out of the district. At issue is whether the VTDs moved out of the redrawn district differ in systematic ways from those kept in the district.

Finally, Model #3 combines both approaches. It examines which VTDs were moved into and kept in the redrawn district versus those kept out/moved out. Substantively, this model looks at the full range of choices available to mapmakers—to keep VTDs in the district and alter others. In other words, this model captures the decision to redraw some portions of a district and not redraw others. It also captures, in part, how the district was drawn in the previous redistricting cycle. For example, of the roughly five hundred VTDs that could have been selected for the redrawn CD #3, roughly three-fourths were kept in the district or were moved in from the county envelope outside the district. At issue is whether the VTDs moved into and kept in the district differ in systematic ways from those kept out and moved out of the district.

All three models were estimated using multivariate logistic regression.[6] In simple terms, multivariate logistic regression is used when the dependent variable is binary (1/0) and the researcher wants to study the possible effect of one or more independent variables.[7] In the analysis, the three independent variables will be statistically insignificant if they do not correlate with how the district lines were drawn. An insignificant BVAP variable suggests that race does not explain the district's configuration, an insignificant Biden Vote variable indicates that partisanship does not explain the district's design, and an insignificant Total VAP variable suggests that precinct size does not explain the district's configuration. In contrast, a statistically significant coefficient would indicate that race, partisanship and/or precinct size correlate in a meaningful way with how the district lines were drawn, and this correlation is unlikely to have been caused by chance.

A key feature of this approach is that it allows me to statistically disentangle the effect of each factor. For example, any correlation between race and how the district lines were drawn could be due, instead, to partisan motivations. After all, race and partisanship are highly correlated in South Carolina.[8] Likewise, because race is measured using number of Black voters, race and precinct size correlate as well. In this respect, perhaps mapmakers selected precincts based on their raw size, not the number of Black voters specifically. Statistically speaking, this analysis will reveal whether race

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[6] Because models #1 and #2 have small sample sizes and/or few events per variable in a few cases, I used the *firthlogit* command in Stata 17 to estimate these models. Following recommendations in the analysis of rare events, this routine reduces the amount of statistical bias compared to standard logistic regression. See for example "Bias Reduction of Maximum Likelihood Estimates" by Firth in the journal *Biometrika* (1993) or a recent simulation study "No Rationale for 1 Variable Per 10 Events Criterion for Binary Logistic Regression Analysis" by van Smeden et al. in the journal *BMC Medical Research Methodology* (2016). Because Model #3 combines both models, and therefore has much larger sample sizes and number of events per variable, I used the standard *logit* command in Stata 17.

[7] In models #1 and #2, the positive outcome (coded 1) indicates a VTD was moved into/out of the district and the reference outcome (coded 0) indicates the VTD was kept out/kept in the district. In model #3 the positive outcome (coded 1) indicates that VTD was moved into/kept in the district and the reference outcome (coded 0) indicates that VTD was moved out/kept out of the district.

[8] According the 2020 Cooperative Election study, 76.3% of Black respondents from South Carolina said they identify as Democrats, compared to just 5.1% who call themselves Republicans. Likewise, 29.8% of White respondents said they identify as Democrats, compared to 52.2% who call themselves Republicans.

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explains how lawmakers redrew the map controlling for the other two factors. In other words, any significant effect of race cannot be explained away as a proxy effect of partisanship or precinct size.

Another measure of significance is the question of "how much" a variable affects some outcome. Although related, a statistically significant effect can nevertheless be small in magnitude. Statisticians refer to substantive significance as an "effect size." I therefore compute the probability a VTD was chosen for a redrawn district varying only its racial makeup.[9] In particular, in a series of figures derived from each of the models described above, I plot the probability of selection varying a precinct's BVAP from 100 to 1500 Black voters.[10]

Notably, partisanship and precinct size are set to their mean in each figure. Substantively speaking, these figures show whether VTDs of average size and average partisanship—but varying numbers of Black voters—had the same probability of being selected for the redrawn district. If race was not a substantively important factor in the district's composition, VTDs with 100 Black voters should have about the same chance of being included in the redrawn district as VTDs with 1500 Black voters. A perfectly flat line in the figure would indicate no effect of race. Alternatively, lines with a steep slope would reveal that the size of the Black population had a substantively large effect on the probability of selection (and by how much).

Results

I discuss the results by district in the pages below.[11] All tables and figures can be found at the bottom of this report. In the tables, a positive sign on the BVAP variable indicates that VTDs with a large Black population were *more* likely to be: moved in (Model #1), moved out (Model #2), and moved into and kept in the redrawn district (Model #3). Conversely, a negative sign on the BVAP variable indicates that VTDs with a large Black population were *less* likely to be: moved in (Model #1), moved out (Model #2), and moved into and kept in the redrawn district (Model #3).

All in all, the results show, quite consistently, that race was a significant factor in the construction of South Carolina's enacted map. In the tables, the BVAP variable is statistically significant in twelve of the eighteen models (67%) estimated.[12] In other words, in a large majority of cases, a precinct's Black population reliably predicts whether it was included or excluded from the redrawn district. As discussed earlier, these effects cannot be dismissed as a byproduct of partisan redistricting or normal variation in precinct size. Furthermore, the BVAP variable is numerically large in several cases, indicating that race was not just statistically significant, but substantially significant at the same time. I ultimately conclude that race factored into the design of five of the seven districts (CD #1, CD #2, CD #3, CD #5, and CD #6).

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[9] I compute these probabilities using the *margins* command in Stata 17. Although the BVAP coefficient in each model also reveal the effect size of race, the number does not have a straightforward interpretation. Indeed, because logistic regression uses a non-linear link function (i.e. a logit), the coefficients represent the effect of a 1-unit change in the independent variable on the log odds of the outcome.

[10] In South Carolina the Black population is unevenly distributed across districts. For example, CD #6 has several VTDs with more than 1500 Black voters and relatively few under 100, while CD #1 has several VTDs with less than 100 Black voters and relatively few above 1500. I therefore selected 100 to 1500 because it contains the bulk of the data in each district and therefore provides a standardized baseline for comparison.

[11] In the tables, each coefficient was scaled per 100 persons.

[12] As explained in detail below, there is no analysis of CD #7 due to the lack of observations. I therefore estimated a total of eighteen models: three each for six districts.

CD #1

Looking at Table 1 for CD #1, race was a significant factor in two models. Model 2 reveals that Black voters were significantly more likely to be moved out of the redrawn district while Model 3 shows that Black voters were significantly less likely to be moved into and kept in the district. In this respect, the results in Table 1 point in the same direction: Black voters were excluded from the redrawn district. Figure 1 presents the effect size for the BVAP variable in the three models. In the middle panel, we can see that VTDs with 100 Black voters had only a 13% chance of being moved out of the district, compared to 60% for VTDs with 1500 Black voters. In the bottom panel, we can see that VTDs with 100 Black voters had an 80% chance of being moved into or kept in the district, which compares to just 11% for VTDs with 1500 Black voters. Simply put, Figure 1 reveals that precincts of average size and average partisanship had very different probabilities of being included in the redrawn district depending on their racial composition.

I therefore conclude that race was an important factor in the design of the 1st district. All in all, the results indicate that Black voters were excluded from the district in both a statistically significant and substantively consequential fashion.

CD #2

In the analysis of CD #2, race was a significant factor in all three models. Looking at Table 2, Model 1 shows that Black voters were significantly less likely to be moved into the redrawn district while Model 2 reveals that Black voters were significantly less likely to be moved out of the district. Although they point in opposite directions, Figure 2 shows us that these effects are not equivalently sized and thus do not cancel out in the aggregate. Namely, we can see from the slope of each plot line that race had a much larger effect on the VTDs moved into the district (top panel) compared to VTDs moved out of the district (middle panel). In the top panel, VTDs with 100 Black voters had a 36% chance of being moved into the district, compared to just 8% for VTDs with 1500 Black voters. At the same time, Model 3 in Table 2 reveals that Black voters were less likely to be moved into and kept in the district. In the bottom panel of Figure 2, we can see that VTDs with 100 Black voters had an 90% chance of being moved into or kept in the district, compared to just 25% for VTDs with 1500 Black voters. Figure 2 therefore reveals that precincts of average size and average partisanship had very different probabilities of being included in the redrawn district depending on their Black population.

I therefore conclude that race was an important factor in the design of the 2nd district. According to the results, Black voters were excluded from the redrawn district in both a statistically significant and substantively consequential fashion.

CD #3

Looking at Table 3 for CD #3, we can see that race was a significant factor in two models. Model 1 reveals that Black voters were significantly more likely to be added to the redrawn district while Model 3 reveals that Black voters were significantly more likely to be moved into and kept in the district. In this respect, the results in Table 3 point in the same direction: Black voters were added to and kept in the redrawn district. Figure 3 presents the effect size for the BVAP variable in the three models. In the top panel, we can see that VTDs with 100 Black voters had a 15% chance of

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being moved into the district, compared to 35% for VTDs with 1500 Black voters. In the bottom panel, VTDs with 100 Black voters had a 65% chance of being moved into or kept in the district, compared to 90% for VTDs with 1500 Black voters. Simply put, Figure 3 reveals that precincts of average size and average partisanship had very different probabilities of being included in the redrawn district depending on their racial composition.

I therefore conclude that race was an important factor in the design of the 3rd district. All in all, the results indicate that Black voters were added to and kept in the district in both a statistically significant and substantively consequential fashion.

CD #4

In the analysis of CD #4, the BVAP variable is not statistically significant in any of the three models. I therefore conclude that race was not a significant factor in the district's composition.

CD #5

Looking at Table 5 for CD #5, race was a significant factor in two of models. Model 1 reveals that Black voters were significantly less likely to be added to the redrawn district while Model 3 indicates that Black voters were significantly less likely to be moved into and kept in the district. In this respect, the results in Table 5 point in the same direction: Black voters were excluded from the redrawn district. Figure 5 presents the effect size for the BVAP variable in the three models. In the top panel, we can see that VTDs with 100 Black voters had a 38% chance of being moved into the district, compared to <1% for VTDs with 1500 Black voters. In the bottom panel, VTDs with 100 Black voters had a 76% chance of being moved into or kept in the district, compared to 52% for VTDs with 1500 Black voters. Figure 5 therefore reveals that precincts of average size and average partisanship had very different probabilities of being included in the redrawn district depending on their Black population.

I therefore conclude that race was an important factor in the design of the 5th district. According to the results, Black voters were excluded from the redrawn district in both a statistically significant and substantively consequential fashion.

CD #6

In the analysis of CD #6, race was a significant factor in each of the models. Looking at Table 6, Model 1 shows that Black voters were significantly less likely to be added to the redrawn district while Model 2 reveals that Black voters were significantly less likely to be moved out of the district. Although they point in opposite directions, Figure 6 shows us that these effects are not equivalently sized and thus do not cancel out in the aggregate. Namely, we can see from the slope of each plot line that race had a larger effect on the VTDs moved out of the district (middle panel) compared to VTDs moved into the district (top panel). In the middle panel, VTDs with 100 Black voters had a 33% chance of being moved out of the district, compared to just 4% for VTDs with 1500 Black voters. At the same time, Model 6 in Table 6 reveals that Black voters were more likely to be moved into and kept in the district. In the bottom panel of Figure 6, we can see that VTDs with 100 Black voters had an 27% chance of being moved into or kept in the district, which compares to 85% for VTDs with 1500 Black voters. Simply put, Figure 6 reveals that precincts of average size and

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average partisanship had very different probabilities of being included in the redrawn district depending on their racial makeup.

I therefore conclude that race was a meaningful factor in the design of the 6th district. All in all, the results indicate that Black voters were added to and kept in the district in both a statistically significant and substantively consequential fashion.

CD #7

In the 7th district there were not enough observations to conduct a meaningful analysis (and thus there are no tables and figures below). First, the district, newly created after the 2010 census, is almost entirely within whole counties. For this reason, there are fewer than a dozen VTDs in the county envelope outside the old district. Second, the district's boundaries were only slightly redrawn this cycle. According to the data, there were just a handful of VTDs added to or removed from the redrawn district. I am therefore unable to determine whether race was a factor in the district's configuration.

Table 1: Analysis of CD #1

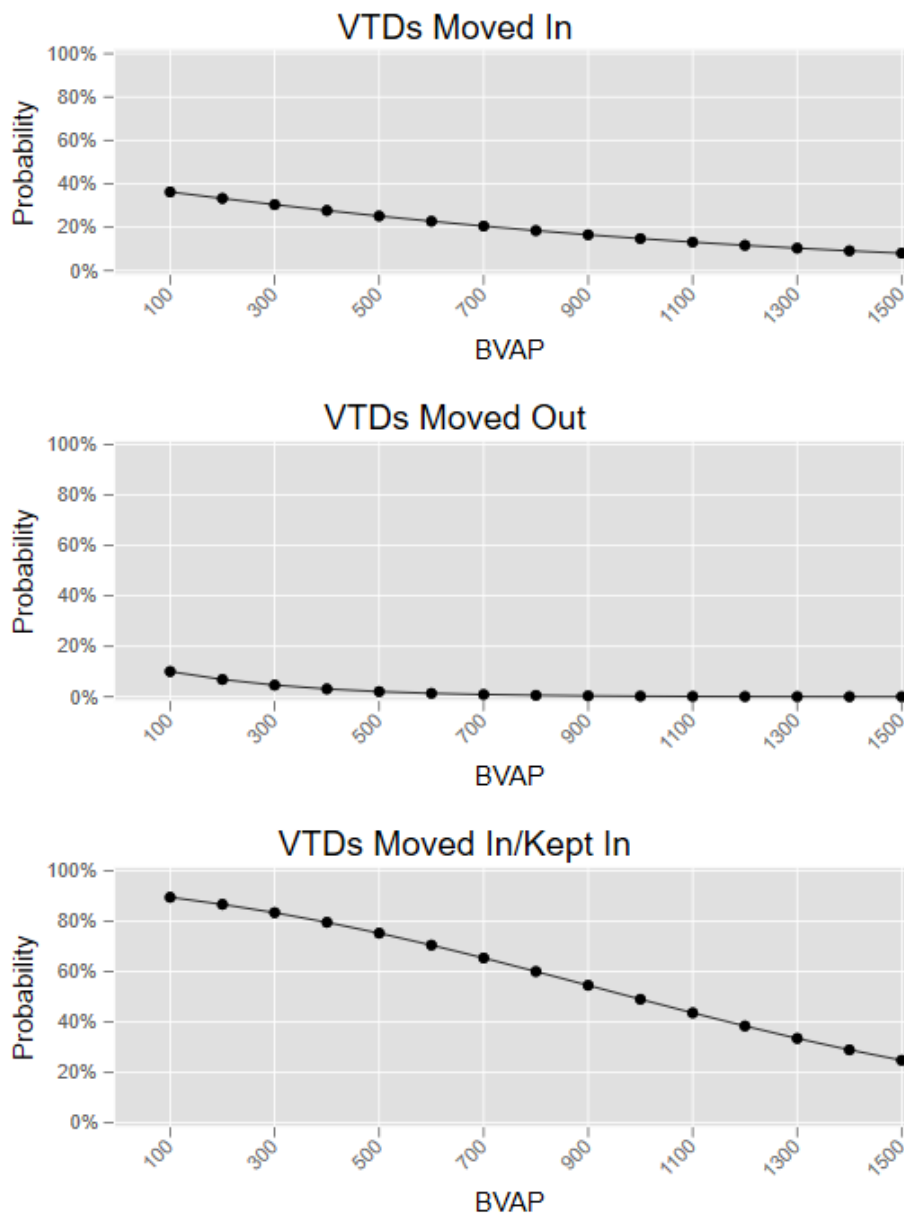| Variables	Model 1 VTDs Moved In	Model 2 VTDs Moved Out	Model 3 VTDs Moved In/Kept In
Biden Vote	0.13	0.39***	-0.11
BVAP	-0.10	0.18***	-0.28***
Total VAP	-0.02	-0.14***	0.12***
Constant	-0.81*	-2.06***	0.56*
N	133	369	502

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Figure 1: CD #1

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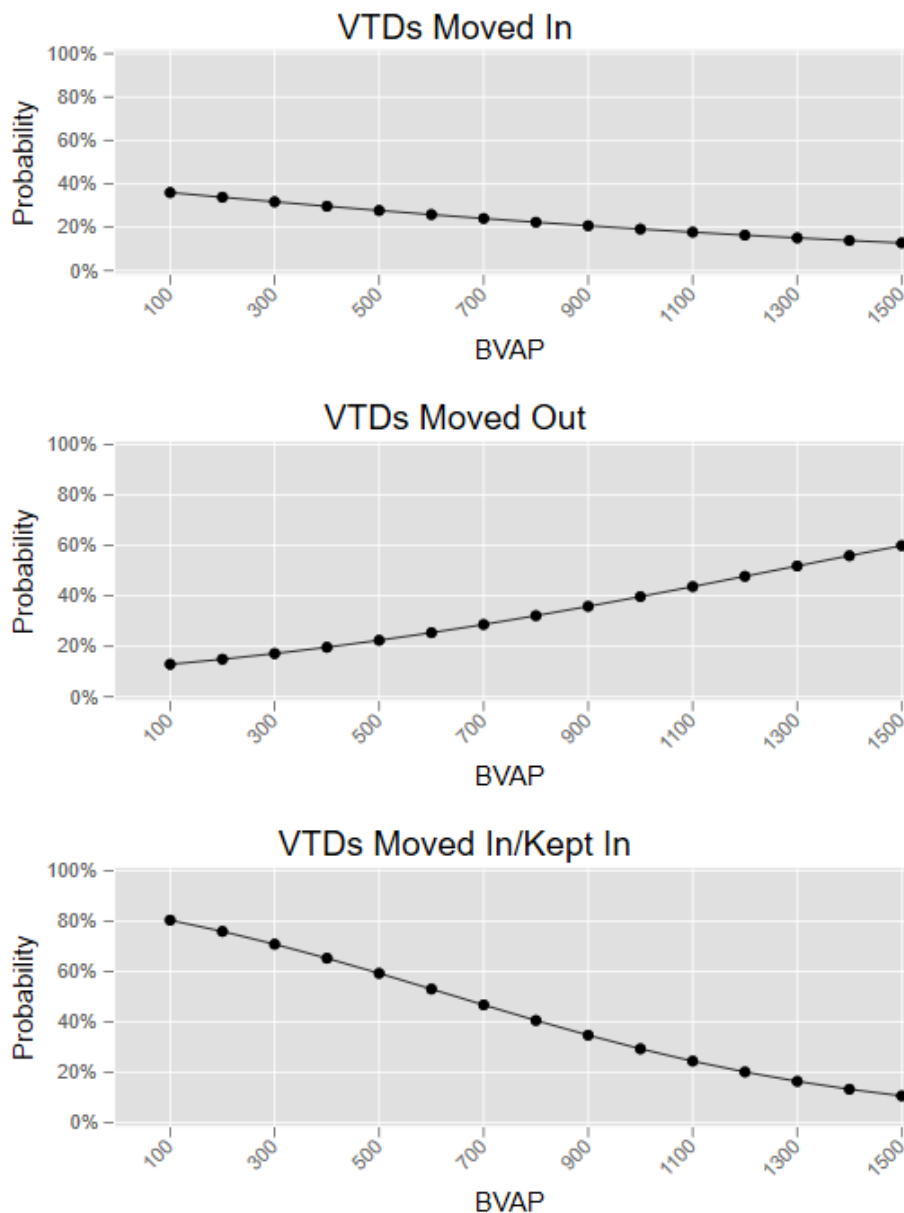
Table 2: Analysis of CD #2

Variables	Model 1 VTDs Moved In	Model 2 VTDs Moved Out	Model 3 VTDs Moved In/Kept In
Biden Vote	0.34***	0.32**	0.04
BVAP	-0.18**	-0.52*	-0.31***
Total VAP	<-0.01	-0.17***	0.17***
Constant	-3.08***	-0.87	-0.03
N	128	295	423

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Figure 2: CD #2

VTDs Moved In

VTDs Moved Out

VTDs Moved In/Kept In

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Table 3: Analysis of CD #3

Variables	Model 1 VTDs Moved In	Model 2 VTDs Moved Out	Model 3 VTDs Moved In/Kept In
Biden Vote	-0.32**	0.89***	-0.72***
BVAP	0.17*	0.08	0.22***
Total VAP	-0.24***	-0.16***	-0.02
Constant	3.79***	-6.15***	3.80***
N	161	339	500

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

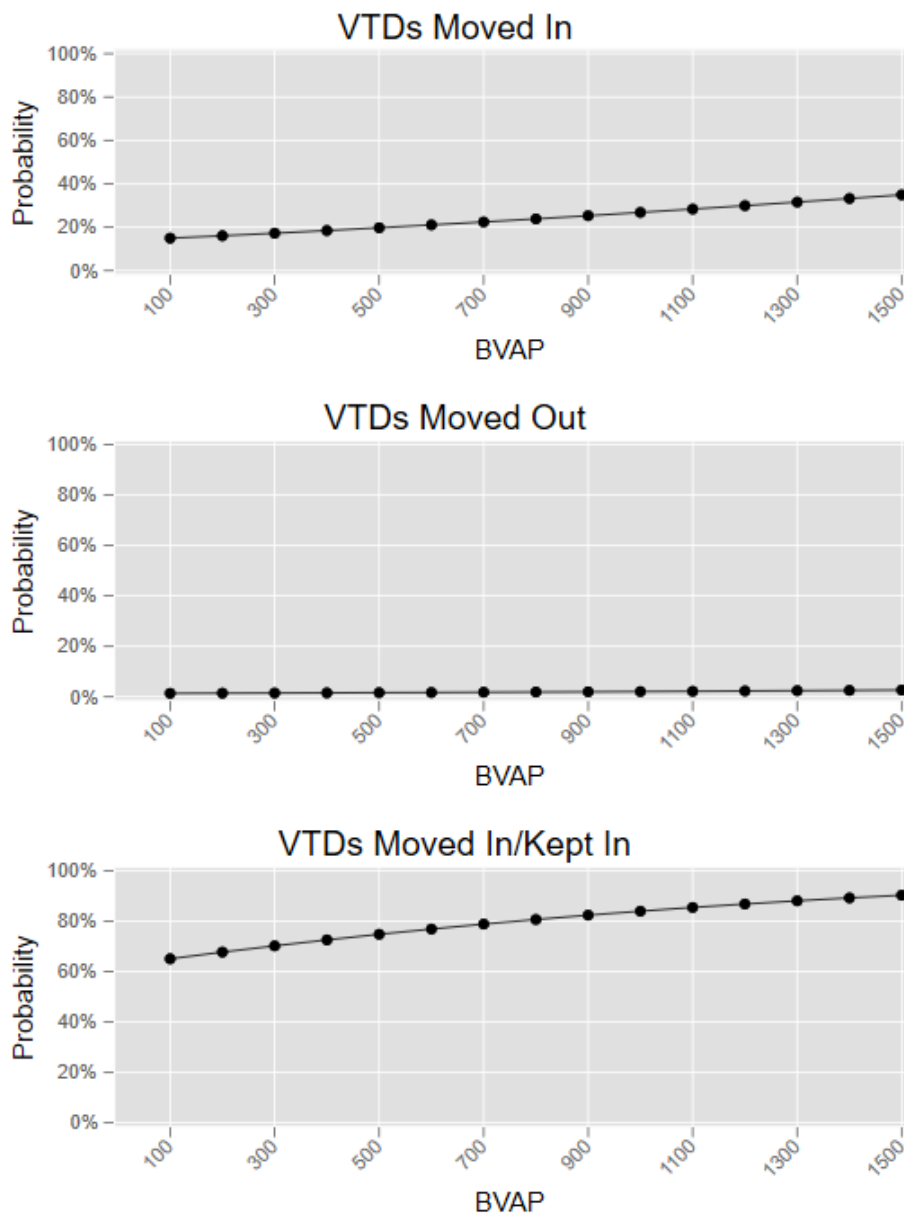
Figure 3: CD #3

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Table 4: Analysis of CD #4

Variables	Model 1 VTDs Moved In	Model 2 VTDs Moved Out	Model 3 VTDs Moved In/Kept In
Biden Vote	0.46	0.02	0.06
BVAP	0.45	-0.19	0.09
Total VAP	-0.22	-0.02	-0.01
Constant	-2.62	-1.57**	1.30**
N	28	231	259

*** $p<0.01$, ** $p<0.05$, * $p<0.1$

Figure 4: CD #4

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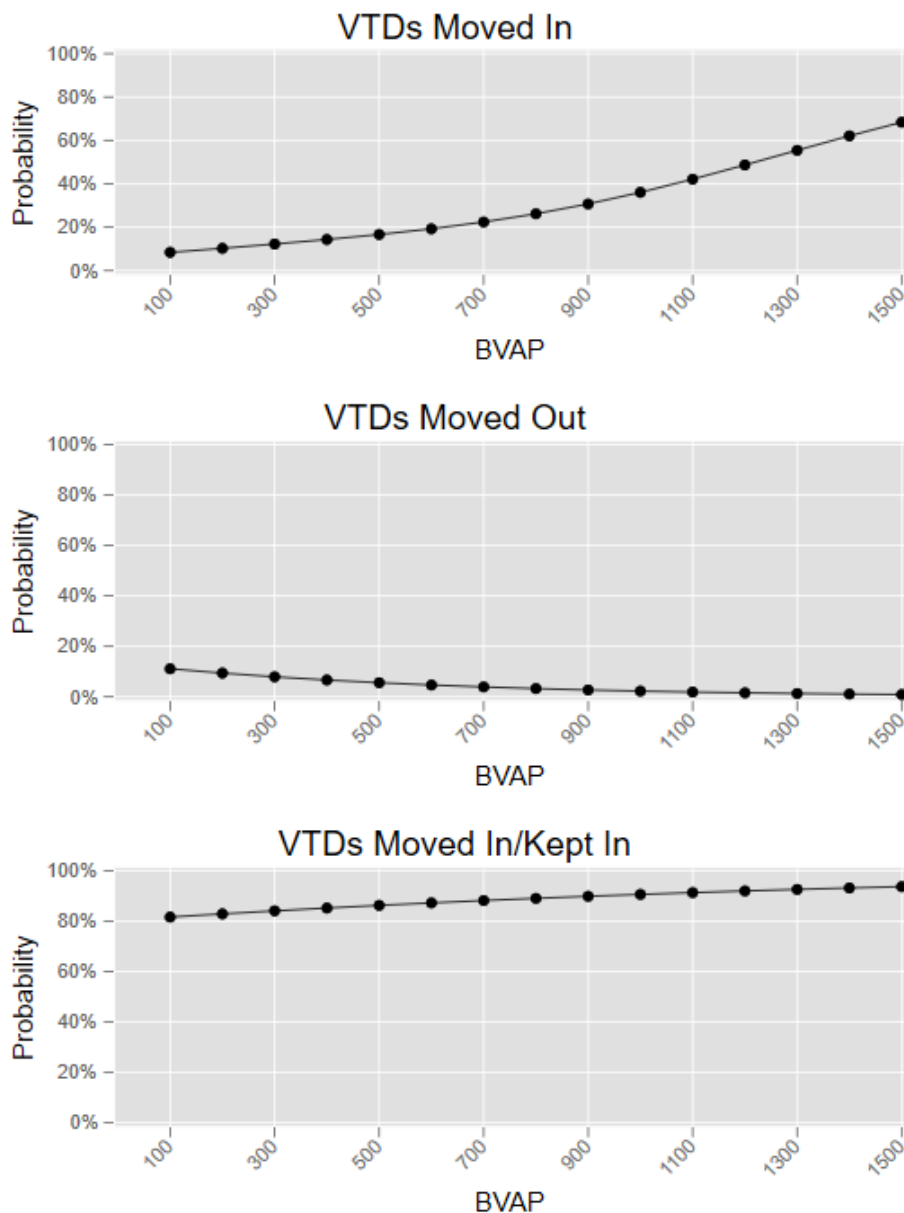
Table 5: Analysis of CD #5

Variables	Model 1 VTDs Moved In	Model 2 VTDs Moved Out	Model 3 VTDs Moved In/Kept In
Biden Vote	0.29*	0.02	0.10*
BVAP	-0.51***	0.02	-0.08**
Total VAP	0.01	-0.12***	-0.03*
Constant	-1.76***	-0.89**	1.25***
N	122	362	484

*** $p<0.01$, ** $p<0.05$, * $p<0.1$

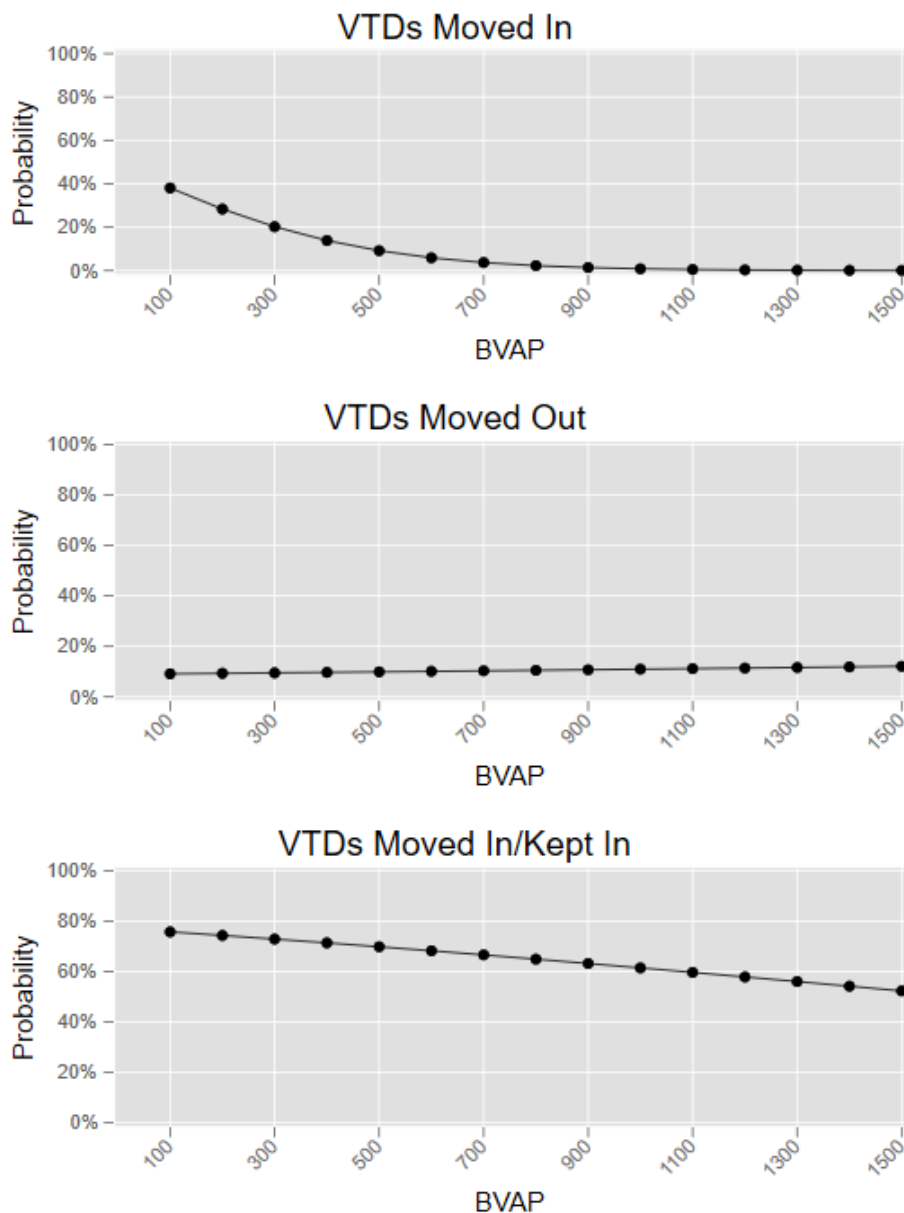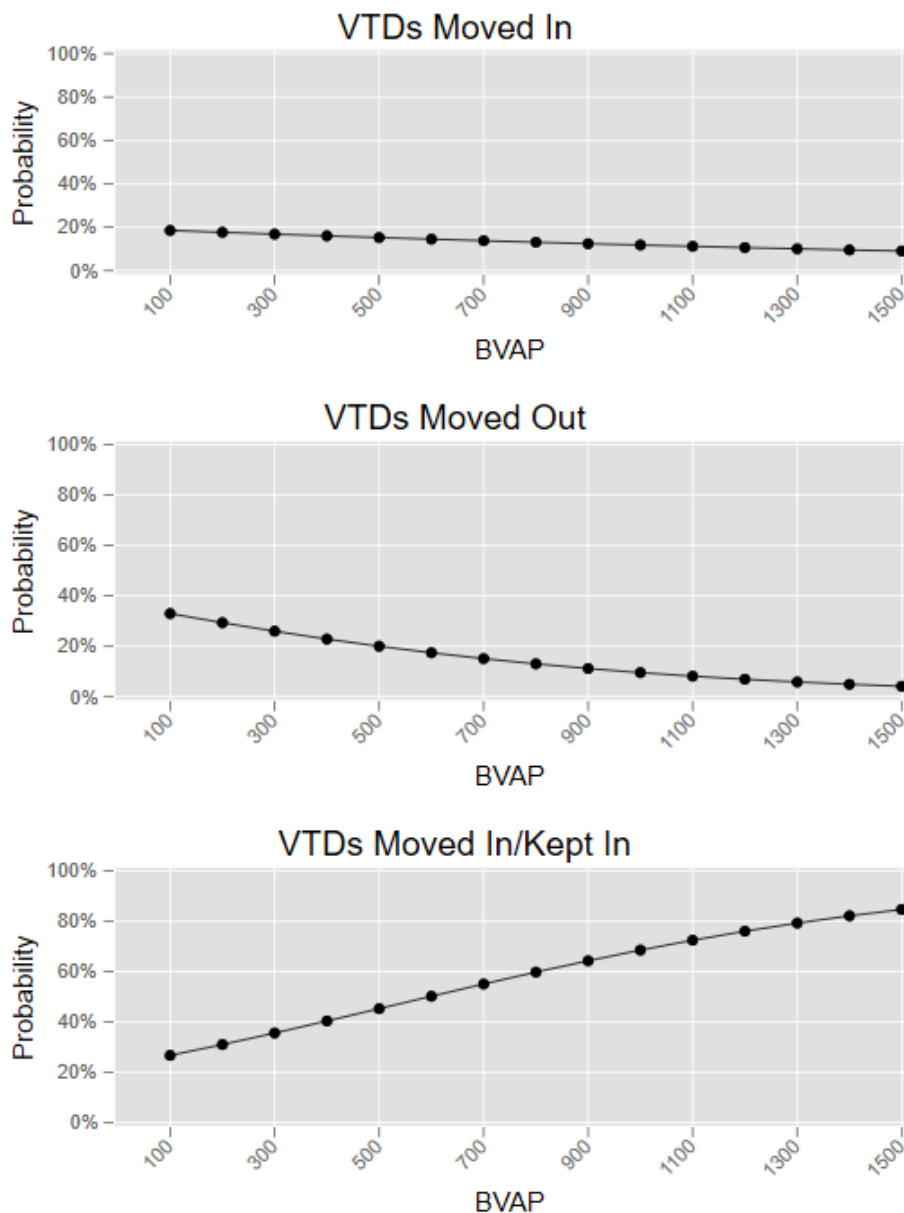Figure 5: CD #5

Table 6: Analysis of CD #6

Variables	Model 1 VTDs Moved In	Model 2 VTDs Moved Out	Model 3 VTDs Moved In/Kept In
Biden Vote	0.26***	0.27***	-0.10**
BVAP	-0.06*	-0.21***	0.25***
Total VAP	-0.09***	<-0.01	-0.11***
Constant	-1.54***	-2.02***	0.68***
N	572	408	980

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Figure 6: CD #6

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I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct.

Dr. Jordan Ragusa
April 11, 2022
Charleston, South Carolina

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EDUCATION

Ph.D., M.A., Political Science, University of Florida, 2011
    Fields: American Politics | Quantitative Methods
       ⋆ High Pass Award on Quantitative Methods Qualifying Exam
       ⋆ Dissertation: "Resolving Differences: Bicameral Disagreement and Reconciliation in the
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B.S., Secondary Education, Bowling Green State University, 2005
    Minors: Political Science | American History

ADDITIONAL EDUCATION

University of Michigan, ICPSR, 2006 & 2007
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POSITIONS & PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Political Science Department, College of Charleston
    Associate Chair, 2019 - present
    Associate Professor, 2017 - present
    Director, American Politics Research Team, 2015 - present
    Assistant Professor, 2011 - 2017

Center for Public Choice and Market Process, College of Charleston
    Research Director, 2019 - present
    Senior Fellow, 2021 - present
    Fellow, 2012 - 2021

Editorial Board, Political Research Quarterly, 2018 - present

Contributor, LegBranch.com, 2017 - 2019 | Christian Science Monitor, 2014 - 2017

Instructor, University of Florida, 2009 - 2011

BOOKS

Ragusa, Jordan M., and Nathaniel Birkhead. 2020. "Congress in Reverse: Repeals from Reconstruction to the Present." *University of Chicago Press*. (Link to Book.)

Knotts, H. Gibbs, and Jordan M. Ragusa. 2020. "First in the South: Why South Carolina's Presidential Primary Matters." *University of South Carolina Press*. (Link to Book.)

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[†]= DENOTES STUDENT CO-AUTHOR

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Johnson, Lauren R.[†], Deon McCray[†], and Jordan M. Ragusa. 2018. "#NeverTrump: Why Republican Members of Congress Refused to Support Their Party's Nominee in the 2016 Presidential Election." *Research and Politics* 5(1): 1-10. (Link to Published Article.)

Craven, James S.[†], Jordan M. Ragusa, and John-Anthony G. Thevos[†]. 2017. "Palmetto State Primaries: An Examination of South Carolina's Nomination Contests." *Journal of Political Science* 45(1): 33-53. (Link to Published Article.)

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†= DENOTES STUDENT
CO-AUTHOR

Cooper, Chris, Gibbs Knotts, and Jordan M. Ragusa. 2016. "The Constrained Governor: Gubernatorial Decision-Making and Senate Appointments." *Political Research Quarterly* 69(3): 482-94. (Link to Published Article.)

Ragusa, Jordan M., and Anthony Gaspar[†]. 2016. "Where's the Tea Party? An Examination of the Tea Party's Voting Behavior in the House of Representatives." *Political Research Quarterly* 69(2): 361-72. (Link to Published Article.)

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  ⋆ Best Graduate Student Paper Award at the 2010 Florida Political Science Association meeting.

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Ragusa, Jordan M. 2010. "The Lifecycle of Public Policy: An Event History Analysis of Repeals to Landmark Legislative Enactments, 1951-2006." *American Politics Research* 38(6): 1015-51. (Link to Published Article.)
  ⋆ Florida Department of Political Science Best Graduate Student Paper Award in 2008.

BOOK
CHAPTERS

Ragusa, Jordan M. 2017. "An Examination of Congressional Efforts to Repeal the Affordable Care Act." In Lawrence C. Dodd and Bruce Oppenheimer, *Congress Reconsidered*, Washington, D.C.: CQ Press.

Ragusa, Jordan M. 2017. "Do the Rich Deserve a Tax Cut? Public Images, Deservingness, and Americans' Tax Policy Preferences." In Bart Meuleman, Femke Roosma, Tim Reeskens, and Wim van Oorschot, *The Social Legitimacy of Targeted Welfare*, London: Edward Elgar Press.

WORKS IN
PROGRESS
†= DENOTES STUDENT
CO-AUTHOR

Cook, Emily[†], Martin, Jeff[†], and Jordan M. Ragusa. "Locked, Loaded, and Legislating: An Examination of Gun Owners in Congress."

Crotty, Patrick[†], and Jordan M. Ragusa. "Subnational Economic Benchmarking in U.S. National Elections."

Op-Eds,
Editorials,
& Other
Publications

Birkhead, Nathaniel, and Jordan M. Ragusa. "What Are the Chances of Repealing SC's Ban on K-12 Mask Mandates?" *The Post and Courier*, August 19, 2021.

Ragusa, Jordan M. "Why Are Women Underrepresented in South Carolina?" *The Post and Courier*, February 17, 2021.

Ragusa, Jordan M. "Key Data Show Cunningham as a Moderate in Congress." *Charleston City Paper*, October 31, 2020.

Knotts, Gibbs, and Jordan M. Ragusa. "Elizabeth Warren." *Charleston City Paper*, February 19, 2020.

Knotts, Gibbs, and Jordan M. Ragusa. "Joe Biden." *Charleston City Paper*, February 12, 2020.

Knotts, Gibbs, and Jordan M. Ragusa. "Bernie Sanders." *Charleston City Paper*, February 5, 2020.

Knotts, Gibbs, and Jordan M. Ragusa. "Amy Klobuchar." *Charleston City Paper*, January 29, 2020.

Knotts, Gibbs, and Jordan M. Ragusa. "Pete Buttigieg." *Charleston City Paper*, January 22, 2020.

Knotts, Gibbs, and Jordan M. Ragusa. "Tom Steyer." *Charleston City Paper*, January 8, 2020.

Amira, Karyn, Knotts, Gibbbs, and Jordan Ragusa "Exit Poll: Overdevelopment, Flooding Motivated Charleston Mayoral Voters Most." *The Post and Courier*, November 5, 2019.

Ragusa, Jordan M., and Gibbs Knotts. "South Carolina Will Align the Democratic Calendar." *The Post and Courier*, March 5, 2019.

Cooper, Chris, Knotts, Gibbs, and Jordan M. Ragusa. "When Appointing a U.S. Senator, Governors Act Responsibly." *The News and Observer*, June 27, 2018.

Ragusa, Jordan M., and Gibbs Knotts. "Trump Looms Large in Sanford Primary." *Charleston City Paper*, June 10, 2018.

Ragusa, Jordan M., and Gibbs Knotts. "A Test of Trump's Coattails." *The Huffington Post*, April 18, 2017.

Knotts, Gibbs, and Jordan M. Ragusa. "Is South Carolina a Future Swing State?' *The Post and Courier*, November 8, 2016.

Ragusa, Jordan M., and Gibbs Knotts. "Ohio's Special Election to Replace John Boehner Wasn't Special At All" *Washington Post / Monkey Cage Blog*, June 8, 2016.

Knotts, Gibbs, and Jordan M. Ragusa. "South Carolina Gives Clinton Big Boost for Super Tuesday" *The Post and Courier*, February 27, 2016.

Ragusa, Jordan M., and Gibbs Knotts. "The National Impact of SC's Vote." *The Post and Courier*, February 20, 2016.

Ragusa, Jordan M., and Gibbs Knotts. "Why Haley's a Strong Contender in the Republican Veepstakes." *The Post and Courier*, January 14, 2016.

Ragusa, Jordan M. "Ohio Said No to Legalizing Marijuana. It Might Have Nixed Federal Reforms, Too" *Washington Post / Monkey Cage Blog*, November 5, 2015.

Knotts, Gibbs, and Jordan M. Ragusa. "Inside the Mind of Charleston's Voters." *The Post and Courier*, November 3, 2015.

OP-EDS,
EDITORIALS,
& OTHER
PUBLICATIONS

Ragusa, Jordan M. "Gun Control? Not in this Congress." *The State*, August 6, 2015.

Knotts, Gibbs, and Jordan M. Ragusa. "Symbolism and Political Violence in the Holy City." *The Huffington Post*, June 19, 2015.

Knotts, Gibbs, and Jordan M. Ragusa. "Special Elections Aren't All That Special." *The Huffington Post*, May 6, 2015.

Knotts, Gibbs, and Jordan M. Ragusa. "A Fundamentally Good Election for the GOP." *The Post and Courier*, November 4, 2014.

Ragusa, Jordan M., and Gibbs Knotts. "Beware of Term Limits." *The Post and Courier*, October 11, 2014.

Knotts, Gibbs, and Jordan M. Ragusa, "How Lindsey Graham Won." *The State*, June 14, 2014.

Ragusa, Jordan M. "An Historical Take on the Filibuster." *The State*, December 4, 2013.

Knotts, Gibbs, and Jordan M. Ragusa. "Congressional Dysfunction Didn't Happen Overnight." *The State*, October 16, 2013.

Knotts, Gibbs, and Jordan M. Ragusa. "1st District Fundamentally GOP Turf." *The Post and Courier*, May 8, 2013.

Knotts, Gibbs, and Jordan M. Ragusa. "Sex Scandal Didn't Hurt Mark Sanford Like Some Thought it Would." *The Post and Courier*, March 20, 2013.

Ragusa, Jordan M. "Do State of the Union Speeches Lead or Follow?" *The Post and Courier*, February 15, 2013.

Knotts, Gibbs, and Jordan M. Ragusa. "1st Congressional District: Will Voters Elect Sanford Again?" *The Sun News*, February 13, 2013.

TECHNICAL
REPORTS

Diedrich, Chelsea, Jordan M. Ragusa and Kendra Stewart. 2020. "Lowcountry Local First Consumer Sentiment Survey." A report on consumer preferences and spending habits in the Charleston area.

Fletcher, Stephen, Jordan M. Ragusa and Ali Titus. 2019. "Alliance for Full Acceptance Needs Assessment." A report on LGBTQ Needs in Charleston, Berkeley and Dorchester Counties.

Ragusa, Jordan M. 2018. "An Analysis of Employee Engagement in Charleston County." A report on employee attitudes about their work environment for Charleston County.

Kahle, Bob, Jordan M. Ragusa and Kendra Stewart. 2017. "College of Charleston Student Housing and Nutrition Needs Assessment." A survey and report on students' housing and food insecurity.

Ragusa, Jordan M. and Kendra Stewart. 2016. "Illumination Project Report." A survey and report on citizens' views of policing in the City of Charleston.

Ragusa, Jordan M. and Kendra Stewart. 2016. "Charleston Community Policing Report." A survey and report on community policing conducted with the City of Charleston Police Department.

Craven, Jamie, Gibbs Knotts, Jordan M. Ragusa, and John Thevos. 2015. "An Examination of Charleston's Mayoral Election." Exit polls and analysis of the 2015 mayoral election.

DeMaria, Andrea and Jordan Ragusa. 2015. "College of Charleston Absence Memo Policy." A survey and report on the College of Charleston's policy regarding student absences.

Ragusa, Jordan M. and Kendra Stewart. 2015. "Charleston Community Policing Report." A survey and report on community policing conducted with the City of Charleston Police Department.

BOOK
REVIEWS

Ragusa, Jordan M. 2018. Meinke's "Leadership Organizations in the House of Representatives: Party Participation and Partisan Politics." *Journal of Politics* 80 (1): e9-e10.

Ragusa, Jordan M. 2017. Devine and Kopko's "The VP Advantage: How Running Mates Influence Home State Voting in Presidential Elections." *Political Science Quarterly* 132 (1): 194-195.

Ragusa, Jordan M. 2015. Volden and Wiseman's "Legislative Effectiveness in the United States Congress: The Lawmakers." *Political Science Quarterly* 130 (4): 778-780.

INVITED
PRESENTATIONS

"Undemocratic Democracy: the Filibuster and Electoral College" Keynote address for the Charleston chapter of the League of Women Voters, Charleston, SC, April 2021.

"Polarization and the 2020 Presidential Election" Presented at Clemson University, organized by the South Carolina Humanities Electoral Initiative, Clemson, SC, November 2020.

"Congress in Reverse: Repeals from Reconstruction to the Present." Presented at Coastal Carolina University, Conway, SC, February 2020.

"First in the South: Why South Carolina's Presidential Primary Matters." Presented at Coastal Carolina University, Conway, SC, February 2020.

"First in the South: Why South Carolina's Presidential Primary Matters." Presented at the University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC, February 2020.

"First in the South: Why South Carolina's Presidential Primary Matters." Presented at The Citadel, Charleston, SC, February 2020.

"First in the South: Why South Carolina's Presidential Primary Matters." Presented at Winthrop University's John C. West Forum, Rock Hill, SC, January 2020.

"#NeverTrump: Why Republican Members of Congress Support and Oppose Donald Trump." Presented at the United States Military Academy, West Point, NY, October 2018.

"From Enactment to Repeal: Partisan Disagreements & the Fate of Landmark Laws (1877-2012)." Presented at the Negotiating Agreement in Congress Conference, organized by the Social Science Research Council, held in New York, NY, October 2017.

"Do the Rich Deserve a Tax Cut?" Presented at the Conference on the Social Legitimacy of Targeted Welfare, organized by Bart Meuleman, Femke Roosma, Tim Reeskens, and Wim van Oorschot, held at the University of Leuven, Brussels, Belgium, January 2016.

"Coordination and Partisanship in Modern Conference Committees." Presented at the Conference on Bicameralism organized by David Rohde and Bruce Oppenheimer and sponsored by the Political Institutions and Public Choice Program at Duke, March 2009.

CONFERENCE
ATTENDANCE
(PAST 5 YEARS)

Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics, 2020. Discussant for "The South in Congress."

Southern Political Science Association, 2020. Program Chair for the Legislative Politics Section. Paper "Voting Behavior and Gun Control in Congress." Panel Chair for "Polarization in Congress."

South Carolina Political Science Association, 2019. Book Panel "First in the South: The Case for the South Carolina Primary" (with Gibbs Knotts). Discussant for "Money, Satisfaction, and Fake News."

CONFERENCE ATTENDANCE (PAST 5 YEARS)	*Public Choice Society*, 2018. <u>Book Panel</u> "From Enactment to Repeal: Examining the Post-Passage Fate of Landmark Laws" (with Nate Birkhead).
	Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics, 2018. <u>Paper</u> "GOP Bellwether: Explaining South Carolina's Predictive Ability in Republican Nominating Contests" (with Gibbs Knotts).
	Southern Political Science Association, 2018. <u>Paper</u> "From Enactment to Repeal: When and Why Repeals Happen" (with Nate Birkhead). <u>Discussant</u> for "Legislative Capacity." <u>Panel Chair</u> for "Polarization and Political Speech."
	American Political Science Association, 2017. <u>Paper</u> "From Enactment to Repeal: When and Why Repeals Happen" (with Nate Birkhead).
	Southern Political Science Association, 2017. <u>Paper</u> "From Enactment to Repeal: Measuring Repeal Significance" (with Nate Birkhead). <u>Paper</u> "I'm With Her? Why Republican Lawmakers Refused to Endorse Their Party's Nominee" (with Lauren Johnson and Deon McCray).
ACADEMIC AWARDS	Outstanding Reviewer Award in 2019, Political Research Quarterly.
	Nominated by the Department of Political Science for the University of Florida's 2010-2011 Best Graduate Student Teacher Award.
	Best Graduate Student Paper in 2010, Florida Political Science Association, for "Chamber Hopping in the US Congress."
	High Pass on Political Methodology Ph.D. Qualifying Exam
	Best Graduate Student Paper in 2008, Florida Department of Political Science, for "Contextual and Institutional Explanations of Macro-Level Policy Change: 1951-2002."
FELLOWSHIPS AND GRANTS	Research Fellow, Center for Public Choice and Market Process ($66,000 total), 2012-present
	Social Science Research Council, Negotiating Agreement in Congress Grant ($10,000), 2017
	College of Charleston Faculty R&D Grant ($2,650), 2013
	Dirksen Center Congressional Research Award ($2,000), 2012
	College of Charleston HSS Dean's Discretionary Research Award ($5,000 total), 2012, 2016, 2018, 2019
FELLOWSHIPS AND GRANTS	Various University of Florida Fellowships and Grants, 2007-2011
	Prestage-Cook Travel Award, Southern Political Science Association, 2008
COLLEGE & DEPARTMENT SERVICE	Associate Chair, Department of Political Science, College of Charleston 2019-present
	Research Director, Center for Public Choice and Market Process, College of Charleston, 2019-present
	Faculty Senate, College of Charleston, 2020-present

COLLEGE & DEPARTMENT SERVICE	Founder and Director, American Politics Research Team, College of Charleston, 2015-present
	College Ad Hoc Committee on Gun Violence, 2021-present ⋆ Committee Secretary, 2021-present
	College Student Affairs and Athletics Committee, 2013-17 ⋆ Committee Chair, 2015-17
	Political Science Intellectual Life Committee, 2014-17 & 2018-19 ⋆ Committee Chair, 2015-17 & 2018-19
	William V. Moore Undergraduate Research Conference Committee, 2018-2020
	Department Curriculum Committee, 2011-13, 2014-17 & 2019-present ⋆ Committee Chair, 2019-present
	Department Graduate School Faculty Advisor, 2011-17
	Faculty Advisor: South Carolina Student Legislature (2011-17), College Democrats (2012-17), College of Charleston Debate Team (2014-17)
PROFESSIONAL SERVICE & MEMBERSHIPS	Editorial Board Member, *Political Research Quarterly*, 2018-present
	Program Chair, Campaigns and Elections Section, *Southern Political Science Association*, 2021 & 2015
	Program Chair, Legislative Politics Section, *Southern Political Science Association*, 2020 & 2015
	Committee Member, Pi Sigma Alpha Award, *Southern Political Science Association*, 2013
	Journal Referee: *American Political Science Review*, *American Journal of Political Science*, *The Journal of Politics*, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, *American Politics Research*, *British Journal of Political Science*, *Political Research Quarterly*, *The Journal of Law and Courts*, *Social Science Quarterly*, *Publius*, *Environment and Planning*
	Professional Memberships: *American Political Science Association*, *Midwest Political Science Association*, *Southern Political Science Association*
TECHNICAL SKILLS	Stata, SPSS, Qualtrics, Excel, LaTeX, HTML, WordPress, Prezi

REFERENCES

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